Volume 19, No. 6 June 1991

R5685-4

Trendletter Special: House Votes on Civil Rights

FOCUS

Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000?

Plans by Medical Schools to Increase the Number of Minority Doctors Will Improve Health Care in Underserved Communities

Training Tomorrow's Work Force

A Joint Center Study Shows Innovative Approaches to Vocational Education Can Prepare Disadvantaged Youth for Jobs of the Future

Crime, Crack and Black Youths

The Bush Administration's Proposed Crime Control Legislation Could Send More Minority Youths to Prison

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Education: the Key to Economic Competitiveness

In recent years the United States has become less competitive at producing cars, electronic equipment, and other goods than countries in Europe and the Pacific Rim. If our nation is to elevate its ability to compete in the intense global marketplace, it will have to make greater investments in its most valuable asset—we the people. This is something the country is doing less well than it used to.

G.I. Bill of Rights legislation enabled millions of veterans returning from World War II and the Korean War to take advantage of the higher education that had until then been a preserve of the privileged. In 1957, when the U.S.S.R. launched Sputnik, earth's first manmade satellite, Congress moved quickly to adopt the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to bridge the technological gap between the U.S. and the Soviets. It dramatically expanded the pool of university educated Americans in the fields of math, foreign languages, and the sciences.

Today, the challenge is not only access but equity—making quality education accessible to *all* Americans. Yet it seems that some policy makers have reverted to thinking of higher education simply as a consumer product distributed through market forces, making it once again a privilege for the well off. They seem to have lost sight of the fact that an educated populace is the nation's most important national resource.

Two articles in this month's FOCUS look at how educators are addressing access and equity. The first, "Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000," examines a program conducted by medical schools to increase the number of their minority graduates. In the 1960s, about 83 percent of the nation's 6,000 black doctors were graduates of just two historically black institutions. Today more than 80 percent of minority doctors receive their medical training at predominantly white schools, although the total number of minority M.D.s is still woefully small. It is laudable that these institutions have recognized a need to voluntarily expand access to medical education for minority students.

America needs more black, Latino, and American Indian physicians to attend to the urgent health needs of our people. The death rate among blacks, for example, is still twice as high as it is for whites. Since minority doctors are far more likely to practice in minority communities than their white counterparts, community health is bound to improve as more minorities become doctors.

The second article, "Training Tomorrow's Work Force," reviews the findings of a Joint Center study of vocational education programs in four different cities where the majority of the students are black. Unlike yesterday's "shop classes," where underachievers were dumped in the past, vocational education programs today are preparing young people for jobs in such fields as health care, marketing, and graphic arts. They are also equipping them with broader job skills like computer literacy, resume writing, and oral communication. All these programs have work experience components where participants receive on-the-job training at private firms and government agencies.

The health of the American people, the quality of the work force, and the competitiveness of our national economy are all interrelated and inescapably linked to the quality of education available to us. Other relevant factors, of course, are the individual initiative, commitment, and sometimes self-sacrifice that are necessary to take maximum advantage of opportunities in education, employment, and health care. I'll have more to say on this latter point in future issues of FOCUS. ■

Eddie N. Williams
PRESIDENT

FOCUS
Copyright © 1991 Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Inc.® The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies**, 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPES, Inc.

PRESIDENT/Eddie N. Williams
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT/Eleanor Farrar
VICE PRESIDENT, PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/Kathleen Vander Horst
VICE PRESIDENT, FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION/Brenda Watkins Noel
VICE PRESIDENT, RESEARCH/Milton Morris
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION RESOURCES/Auriel Pilgrim
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE/Russell Owens
DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS/Nancy Stella

ASSOC. DIR. OF COMMUNICATIONS, ELECTRONIC PROGRAMS/Mark Lloyd
EDITOR, *Focus*/David C. Ruffin
SENIOR EDITOR/Marc DeFrancis
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR/Odessa Maria Archibald
PRODUCTION MANAGER/Tyra Wright
TRENDLETTER RESEARCHER/Alfred Baltimore
WORD PROCESSOR/Marlinda Caniza Novicio

BOARD OF GOVERNORS
Andrew F. Brimmer/Brimmer and Company, Inc., *Chair*
Charles U. Daly/John F. Kennedy Library and Museum, *Vice Chair*
Luther Hilton Foster/Alexandria, Virginia, *Treasurer*
Eddie N. Williams/Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, *President*
Norma Ketay Asnes/Ketay Asnes Productions
Hannah D. Atkins/Oklahoma State University
George L. Brown/Lipsen, Whitten & Diamond
Julian C. Dixon/U.S. House of Representatives
Marian Wright Edelman/Children's Defense Fund
Wendell Freeland/Freeland & Kronz
Ira C. Herbert/Coca-Cola North America
Elsie H. Hillman/Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Hector M. Hyacinthe/ Packard Frank Businesss and Corporate Interiors
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr./Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld
Bertram M. Lee, Sr./BML Associates, Inc.
Robert M. McGlotten/AFL-CIO
Richard H. Newhouse/Esquire, Chicago, Illinois
Sharon Percy Rockefeller/WETA-TV/FM
Pauline Schneider/Hunton & Williams
LeBaron Taylor/Sony Music Entertainment, Inc
Felker W. Ward, Jr./Ward and Associates, Inc.

Members Emeriti: William B. Boyd, Louis E. Martin, Robert C. Maynard, James D. Wolfensohn

Eleanor Farrar/*Secretary to the Board*

Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000?

Plans by Medical Schools to Increase the Number of Minority Doctors Will Improve Health Care in Underserved Communities

by Herbert W. Nickens

For many years this country's medical schools operated primarily as the preserve of white men and mirrored the pattern of discrimination in other institutions in our society. Before the civil rights era, most minority physicians were graduates of Howard University Medical School in Washington, D.C., and Meharry Medical School in Nashville. Until then, all of the predominantly white medical schools together graduated only a few dozen minority medical students in any given year.

Minorities are still seriously underrepresented in the healing arts. But over the last 20 years, the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC) has worked toward increasing the number of minority graduates at their institutions. It is fair to say that over the last two decades, a voluntary desegregation of medical education has taken place. Nevertheless, the AAMC goal of minorities representing 16 percent of all medical students has never been met. To reach this goal, the Association is developing a new initiative to expand minority participation in the medical profession by expanding current recruitment efforts and developing precollege programs.

Unmet Goals

As a result of the civil rights era, in the late 1960s the Association of American Medical Colleges became much more aggressive in seeking to increase minority enrollment at majority institutions. The AAMC, founded in 1876, represents all 126 U.S. medical schools, more than 400 of the nation's major teaching hospitals, and their faculties. In 1969 the AAMC established an office of minority affairs. One year later, it established a short-term minority enrollment goal of 12 percent by the school term of 1975-76. In 1978 it revised that goal upward to 16 percent. The original goal had been based solely on the black population, the only minority group for which reliable population data had been available in 1970; the new goal was broadened to include other minorities.

Most medical schools have increased their minority enrollment over the past 20 years, often through a variety of recruitment, academic enrichment and support, and financial aid programs. In the late 1960s, 83 percent of the approximately 6,000 black physicians in the country held medical degrees from Howard or Meharry. Today, all four predominantly black medical schools—Howard, Meharry, Drew and Morehouse—produce less than one quarter of the approximately 850 black students who complete U.S. medical education annually. Nevertheless, neither of the AAMC's minority recruitment goals has yet been met.

One of the earliest principles established by the AAMC is that its recruitment and admissions programs focus on minorities whose numerical representation in the profession is substantially lower than their representation in the population at large—blacks, mainland Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans.

Blacks, who constitute 13.2 percent of the U.S. population in the 20-to-29 age band, accounted for only 5.7 percent of the 1990 medical school graduating class. Mexican-Americans in 1990 were 7.1 percent of the age band and 1.6 percent of the graduates. The comparable 1990 figures for mainland Puerto Ricans were 1.3 and 0.6 percent; and for Native Americans 0.9 and 0.3. The goal of population parity for the four underrepresented minority groups is becoming ever more distant, for while the growth in number of minority medical students has flattened out in recent years, the overall national minority population continues to increase.

Minority Physicians Are a National Resource

There have always been valid, important reasons to expand the number of minorities in the healing arts. First, as a matter of principle, the country's corps of health professionals should reflect the nation's diversity. By the year 2020, 40 percent of the nation's school-age population will be minority.

Second, an increase in the number of minority physicians can expand access to health care among America's minorities. Questionnaires of graduating medical students show that black medical school graduates are much more willing to establish their practices in medically underserved areas. Surveys of practitioners show that black physicians serve a higher proportion of minority patients in their practices than their white counterparts.

Black physicians also choose primary care specialties—general internal medicine, family practice, and general pediatrics—more frequently than white doctors. These specialties have the greatest potential to improve the health status of blacks, whose high rates of heart disease, cancer, and stroke contribute to a black death rate that is now about 50 percent higher than that of whites.

(Continued on page 4)

Dr. Nickens is a physician and vice president for Minority Health, Education and Prevention at the Association of American Medical Colleges in Washington, D.C.

Medicine

(Continued from page 3)

Third, minority physicians must participate more significantly in the management and leadership of the nation's health care industry. The $600 billion enterprise—involving pharmaceutical and medical equipment companies, for-profit hospital chains, medical schools, public clinics, and neighborhood health centers—is managed by people who make vital decisions about health care, its delivery, and who receives it. It is essential that the values and world views of minority managers are represented in this vast system.

Finally, the increase in the number of minority physicians will help desegregate the leadership elites in local communities. Physicians are often asked to serve on school boards, municipal commissions, and other positions of wide-ranging influence.

Education Gap

The stagnation in the number of minority medical school graduates over the past 15 years has resulted from a number of factors, including the chilling effect of resurgent conservatism and retrenchment in affirmative action programs, increasing tuition costs combined with a loss of scholarships, the withdrawal of federal funding for health manpower training programs, and a general decrease in interest in medicine as a career.

But perhaps the most significant barriers to minority enrollment in medicine are rooted in the educational disadvantages that minority students face prior to entering medical school—in primary and secondary school as well as in college. For example, the rate at which high school graduates enroll in college has decreased among blacks in the past 15 years from 33.4 percent in 1976 to 28.1 percent in 1988, while increasing for whites from 33.0 percent to 38.1 percent during the same period, further widening the racial gap. The inadequate education of minorities in inner city elementary and secondary schools shows in lower grades and scores on standardized tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT). The gap in educational achievement is not simply one of poverty since many black youths from affluent families also do not perform well on standardized tests such as the SAT.

The low representation of black males in medical schools deserves special note. It is only the increase in black female applications and admissions to medical school that has kept the numbers of black medical graduates from falling precipitously. The historical peak year of black male enrollment in medical school was 1971, when 626 were enrolled. In 1990 the figure was 466, a drop of 26 percent.

3,000 by 2000

To address these problems, the AAMC began planning in 1990 for "Project 3,000 by 2000." The project draws its name from its goal: to have 3,000 minority students entering U.S. medical schools by the year 2000. That would approximately double current numbers. The project is designing a two-pronged approach—one short- to medium-term effort to expand existing recruitment resources and another long-term effort focusing on precollege programs.

The long-term effort involves the identification or creation of magnet math and science public high schools with substantial minority enrollments. These high schools would then be encouraged to form partnerships with colleges and medical schools so as to create an integrated educational system. Through these partnerships, high school-college-medical school can become a single 12-year enterprise, rather than remaining segmented into three four-year components.

Such partnerships could help to enrich the curricula of high schools as well as provide clear vocational goals toward which young minority students could aspire, reducing the mystery and fear with which many teenagers view university courses and environments. Academic medical centers in partnership with high schools and colleges would provide medical professionals to visit schools, make summer lab jobs available to students, offer teacher training, give high schools feedback on how science and math courses can be upgraded, and help design creative ways to finance higher education.

Because many medical schools are part of larger universities, students who choose other fields of graduate study could easily shift to other courses of study; there will be no effort to lock students into medicine or even into science. A key component in these partnerships is to insure that the high school curricula are rigorous since their mission will be to compensate for the effects of deficient primary school education. The students targeted for these magnet math and science high schools will be those who are solid, ambitious, and willing to work hard, but who might not succeed without such a program. The AAMC does not want to locate these schools in upper- income neighborhoods in order to simply reaffirm the success of the cream of the talent pool.

Because a student entering the ninth grade in the fall of 1991 would not enter medical school until 1999, a short- to medium-term strategy is also necessary. Over the past 20 years medical schools have developed substantial minority-related infrastructures of people and systems engaged in recruitment, financial aid, and academic retention. Enhancing and expanding these infrastructures by medical schools could bring greater numbers of blacks and other minorities into medicine in the near term. For example, almost two hundred minorities each year take the MCAT and score well enough to be admitted to medical school but do not apply. This is an obvious source of students who should be targeted immediately by medical school recruitment and financial aid officials.

The most exciting aspect of Project 3,000 by 2000 is its potential to improve the lives of minority young people by improving educational opportunities available to them, across the board. Whether they choose ultimately to enter medicine or not, everyone will gain. ■

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Civil Rights: House-Yes, Bush-No

On June 5, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a compromise civil rights bill by an overwhelming majority of 273 to 158. The measure, backed by the House leadership, would overturn six U.S. Supreme Court decisions handed down in June 1989. The Court decisions made it more difficult for workers to prove discrimination and limited their access to judicial remedies for employment bias by making court challenges against employers more costly and time consuming. The Court also removed any legal penalties against on-the-job racial harassment. In effect, the decisions weakened protections provided by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code. (See May 1991 FOCUS, "Politics, Morality, and Civil Rights.") Two substitute bills were defeated on the House floor on June 4: a stronger version of the leadership bill, sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and a Bush administration bill, which civil rights advocates had vigorously opposed.

The leadership bill has been actively opposed by small businesses who fear having to pay damages if found guilty of intentional discrimination; they have been claiming that the measure would impose "quotas" on employers. President **GEORGE BUSH** has been a leader in the chorus of those calling the legislation a "quota bill" and has introduced a substitute bill of his own. Civil rights advocates have rejected the Bush substitute because they believe it would codify aspects of the Court's rulings that they want to see overturned. The White House has refused requests by the bill's supporters to work out a compromise. Bush aides have also blocked all efforts at compromise between business leaders and civil rights advocates. As he did with a similar measure last year, the President has threatened to veto this bill, which fell 17 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to override such action.

One goal of the leadership bill, whose prime sponsors are **JACK BROOKS** (D-Tex.), chair of the Judiciary Committee, and **HAMILTON FISH JR.** (R-N.Y.), the ranking Republican on the committee, is to overturn the Court's 1989 Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio decision. Wards Cove reversed the Court's unanimous 1971 Griggs v. Duke Power Co. ruling, which had required employers to prove a "business necessity" for practices that in effect exclude minorities and women from hiring and promotions (like police department height requirements that have nothing to do with how well a person would perform in police work.) Another major provision of the leadership bill would reverse the Court's 1989 ruling in Patterson v. McClean Credit Union. That ruling actually gave employers a blank check to engage in on-the-job racial harassment against employees. The Patterson ruling undermined Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code (enacted by Congress in 1866), which grants to all persons "the same right to make and enforce contracts...as is enjoyed by white citizens." The Court decided that Section 1981 did not apply to any harassment that occurred after an employment contract has been executed. Section 1981 was the only statute that provided punitive monetary remedies to workers who were victims of racial harassment in the workplace. The Court has all but eliminated that remedy. Each of the legislative proposals put forward by the House leadership, the Bush administration, and the CBC takes a different approach to the various issues raised by the Court rulings. Following is an outline of some of the more important differences.

BUSINESS NECESSITY. The leadership bill requires that employment practices bear a "significant and manifest relationship to the requirements of effective job performance." These include actual job functions and factors that contribute to performance, such as attendance and deportment. The bill would specifically overturn the principles outlined in the Court's Ward Cove opinion and would codify the type of evidence required to prove business necessity. The Bush bill is quite permissive in allowing employers to justify practices that are discriminatory. For example, under Bush's bill an employer could justify refusing to hire minorities or women based on "customer preferences"—that is, because customers prefer not to deal with them.

DAMAGES. The leadership bill would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to permit damage awards to victims of intentional discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, sex, or disability. Juries would be allowed to award punitive damages against employers who "engage in an unlawful employment practice with malice, or reckless or callous indifference to the federally protected rights of others." The punitive damages

would be capped at either $150,000 or the sum of back pay and compensatory damages, whichever is greater. The bill maintains the prior exemption of all businesses with fewer than 15 employees. The Bush bill would permit damages up to $150,000 for intentional harassment only. There would be no monetary relief for other forms of intentional discrimination. Moreover, employees would forfeit any award if they failed to pursue the employer's internal complaint process within 90 days of the incident. Only courts, not juries, would be allowed to award damages, and the courts' flexibility would be limited by a broad set of criteria that would have to be considered before an award could be made.

ANTI-QUOTA LANGUAGE. The leadership bill says that it shall not be construed "to require encourage, or permit an employer to adopt hiring or promotion quotas," and futher states that quotas will be deemed unlawful under Title VII while also reaffirming the validity of lawful affirmative action programs. This provision would enable white male workers to sue against unlawful quotas. Ironically, the Bush bill contains no language on quotas.

CBC ALTERNATIVE. The main differences between the CBC substitute proposal and the leadership bill are that the CBC measure would place no cap on damages and would define business necessity in a way that more closely conforms to the language of the 1971 Griggs decision. The measure was sponsored by CBC Chair **ED TOWNS** (D-N.Y.) and Rep. **PATRICIA SCHROEDER** (D-Colo.) who cochairs the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues. The only member of the CBC who voted for the Bush proposal (and against the CBC and leadership bills) was Republican freshman Rep. **GARY FRANKS** of Connecticut. The CBC substitute was defeated by a vote of 277 to 152, and the Bush bill was voted down 266 to 162.

Bush has described the supporters of the leadership bill as favoring unfair racial preferences. But among those who have urged him to approve the provisions contained in the Civil Rights Act of 1990 and the leadership measure this year have been some of the nation's most distinguished black Republicans, including high-ranking black administration officials. Among them are Health and Human Services Secretary **LOUIS SULLIVAN**, director of the Office of Personnel Management **CONSTANCE NEWMAN**, and **ARTHUR FLETCHER**, who chairs the Civil Rights Commission—Bush appointees all.

How They Voted on Civil Rights

A plus (+) indicates a vote consistent with the Congressional Black Caucus

The chart below shows how House members with districts that have black populations of at least 15 percent voted on the CBC substitute, the Bush administration substitute, and the leadership bill. (NV) indicates the legislator did not vote. An asterisk (*) indicates a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Pop. (%)	CBC Bill (+=For)	Bush Bill (+=Against)	Leadership Bill (+=For)
Alabama							
	1	Callahan	(R)	31	-	-	-
	2	Dickinson	(R)	31	-	-	-
	3	Browder	(D)	28	-	+	+
	6	Erdreich	(D)	34	-	+	+
	7	Harris	(D)	33	-	+	+
Arkansas							
	1	Alexander	(D)	19	-	+	+
	2	Thornton	(D)	17	+	+	+
	4	Anthony	(D)	28	-	+	+
California							
	8	* Dellums	(D)	27	+	+	+
	28	* Dixon	(D)	39	+	+	+
	29	* Waters	(D)	50	+	+	+
	31	* Dymally	(D)	34	+	+	+
Delaware (At-large)							
		Carper	(D)	16	-	+	+
Florida							
	2	Peterson	(D)	24	+	+	+

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Pop. (%)	CBC Bill (+=For)	Bush Bill (+=Against)	Leader-ship Bill (+=For)
	3	Bennett	(D)	27	-	+	+
	5	McCollum	(R)	16	-	-	-
	7	Gibbons	(D)	15	+	-	+
	12	Lewis	(R)	19	-	-	-
	15	Shaw	(R)	18	-	-	-
	17	Lehman	(D)	27	NV	NV	+
	18	Ros-Lehtinen	(R)	16	-	-	+
Georgia							
	1	Thomas	(D)	33	-	-	+
	2	Hatcher	(D)	37	-	-	+
	3	Ray	(D)	34	-	-	+
	5	* Lewis	(D)	65	+	+	+
	6	Gingrich	(R)	15	-	-	-
	8	Rowland	(D)	35	-	-	+
	10	Barnard	(D)	25	-	-	-
Illionois							
	1	* Hayes	(D)	92	+	+	+
	2	* Savage	(D)	70	+	+	+
	7	* Collins	(D)	67	+	+	+
	21	Costello	(D)	15	-	+	+
Indiana							
	1	Visclosky	(D)	24	-	+	+
	10	Jacobs	(D)	27	-	+	+
Kentucky							
	3	Mazzoli	(D)	20	-	+	+
Louisiana							
	2	* Jefferson	(D)	59	+	+	+
	3	Tauzin	(D)	20	-	-	+
	4	McCrery	(R)	32	-	-	-
	5	Huckaby	(D)	31	-	-	-
	6	Baker	(R)	25	-	-	-
	7	Hayes	(D)	20	+	-	-
	8	Holloway	(R)	38	-	+	-
Maryland							
	1	Gilchrest	(R)	19	-	-	-
	3	Cardin	(D)	16	+	+	+
	4	McMillen	(D)	21	-	+	+
	5	Hoyer	(D)	35	+	+	+
	7	* Mfume	(D)	73	+	+	+
Massachusetts							
	9	Moakley	(D)	16	+	+	+
Michigan							
	1	* Conyers	(D)	71	+	+	+
	7	Kildee	(D)	15	+	+	+
	13	* Collins	(D)	71	+	+	+
Mississippi							
	1	Whitten	(D)	25	-	+	+
	2	* Espy	(D)	58	+	+	+
	3	Montgomery	(D)	32	-	-	-
	4	Parker	(D)	42	-	-	-
	5	Taylor	(D)	19	-	-	-
Missouri							
	1	* Clay	(D)	52	+	+	+
	5	* Wheat	(D)	23	+	+	+
New Jersey							
	10	* Payne	(D)	58	+	+	+
New York							
	6	* Flake	(D)	50	+	+	+

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Pop. (%)	CBC Bill (+=For)	Bush Bill (+=Against)	Leader-ship Bill (+=For)
	11	* Towns	(D)	47	+	+	+
	12	* Owens	(D)	80	+	+	+
	16	* Rangel	(D)	49	+	+	+
	17	Weiss	(D)	16	+	+	+
	18	Serrano	(D)	44	+	+	+
	20	Lowey	(D)	16	+	+	+
	33	Nowak	(D)	19	+	+	+
North Carolina							
	1	Jones	(D)	35	-	+	+
	2	Valentine	(D)	40	-	-	+
	3	Lancaster	(D)	27	-	-	+
	4	Price	(D)	20	-	+	+
	5	Neal	(D)	16	-	+	+
	6	Coble	(R)	21	-	-	-
	7	Rose	(D)	27	+	+	+
	8	Hefner	(D)	20	-	+	+
	9	McMillan	(R)	23	-	-	-
Ohio							
	1	Luken	(D)	16	-	+	+
	2	Gradison	(R)	16	-	-	-
	3	Hall	(D)	18	-	+	+
	12	Kasich	(R)	15	-	-	-
	21	* Stokes	(D)	62	+	+	+
Pennsylvania							
	1	Foglietta	(D)	32	+	+	+
	2	* Gray	(D)	80	+	+	+
	14	Coyne	(D)	22	+	+	+
South Carolina							
	1	Ravenel	(R)	32	-	-	-
	2	Spence	(R)	35	-	-	-
	3	Derrick	(D)	23	-	+	+
	4	Patterson	(D)	19	-	+	+
	5	Spratt	(D)	33	-	+	+
	6	Tallon	(D)	41	-	+	+
Tennessee							
	5	Clement	(D)	22	-	+	+
	8	Tanner	(D)	20	-	+	+
	9	* Ford	(D)	57	+	+	+
Texas							
	1	Chapman	(D)	20	-	+	+
	2	Wilson	(D)	16	-	+	+
	5	Bryant	(D)	20	+	+	+
	8	Fields	(R)	17	-	-	-
	9	Brooks	(D)	21	+	+	+
	12	Geren	(D)	17	-	+	+
	18	* Washington	(D)	41	+	+	+
	24	Frost	(D)	32	+	+	+
	25	Andrews	(D)	25	-	+	+
Virginia							
	1	Bateman	(R)	31	-	-	-
	2	Pickett	(D)	23	-	-	+
	3	Bliley	(R)	28	-	-	-
	4	Sisisky	(D)	40	NV	NV	NV
	5	Payne	(D)	25	-	+	+
Wisconsin							
	5	Moody	(D)	28	+	+	+

Training Tomorrow's Work Force

A Joint Center Study Shows Innovative Approaches to Vocational Education Can Prepare Disadvantaged Youth for Jobs of the Future

by Pamela K. Joshi and Joyce E. Allen

By the year 2000, one-third of all new entrants into the work force will be minorities. If they are to succeed in the jobs of the future, they will have to be better educated and possess higher occupational skills than minority youths today. The precarious position of black youths in the labor force is reflected in the high unemployment rate for black teenagers (ages 16 to 19) which was 31.1 percent in 1990, compared to 13.4 percent for white teenagers. This disparity in employment is partly due to lower educational attainment. To better prepare black youths for the work force, innovative approaches to vocational education are critical. Though once perceived as a "dumping ground" for students whom administrators viewed as having limited potential, today vocational education programs feature computer instruction, career planning, and on-the-job training.

A Joint Center study conducted in 1990 shows how eight vocational education programs primarily serving black students in four cities—Atlanta, Baltimore, Richmond, and St. Louis—are preparing them for entry-level jobs and college admission. The programs largely operate through public school systems, but they differ markedly from the "shop" classes of the past that emphasized learning a trade. Today vocational programs not only train students for occupations in fields such as health care, marketing, and graphic arts; they also provide students with broader skills like computer literacy, resume writing, and oral communication that are necessary for overall success in the workplace. One alternative high school, the Harbor City Learning Center in Baltimore, even provides an opportunity for youth who have dropped out of school to obtain General Education Diplomas (GED).

Preparing for Success

Several vocational education programs focus on training for specific occupations. For example, Benjamin E. Mays High School in Atlanta has implemented occupational clusters that train students for job skills in business education, marketing, data processing, home economics, health occupations, graphic arts, industrial technology, construction, and mass communications. Students have the opportunity to take advanced courses in any of these specialized fields.

Recognizing the widespread use of computers in the workplace, today's vocational education programs typically provide students with computer skills. One example is the O'Fallon Technical Center in St. Louis, which offers a daily three-hour course in computer data processing. The course provides detailed instruction in the latest word processing programs, data management, and programming techniques. The business education department at Richmond's John Marshall High School also emphasizes computer technology. Students there may even take courses in artificial intelligence. The number and variety of courses at John Marshall qualify students for entry-level positions as word processors and computer programmers.

Some programs emphasize general skills to prepare students for overall job market success. In Richmond, the New Horizons program, a partnership between the school district and the private sector, offers courses on career exploration, job-finding strategies, resume writing, interviewing techniques, written and oral communication, basic mathematics, and computer literacy. The program is offered in seven Richmond high schools and is only available to students from lower-income families.

In Atlanta, all public high school students are required to take a course entitled Program of Education and Career Exploration (PECE), which introduces them to different career options by combining classroom instruction, field trips, and outside speakers from the private sector. Ruby Johnson, a PECE teacher at Frederick Douglass High School, has recruited business executives to conduct 10-week seminars on such topics as the U.S. economic system, personal economics, and the job interviewing process. According to Johnson the seminars, workshops, and tours of businesses reinforce the lessons covered in class.

Business Partnerships

An essential component of effective vocational education is the work experience at a private company or government agency, which enables students to practice what they have learned in the classroom and also provides needed income. Work experience promotes good behavior and academic achievement among vocational students, since they must typically maintain a "C" average to participate in the program. In addition, if students are absent or suspended from school, they cannot work and lose wages on those days.

Students in vocational programs today tend to be placed in clerical and other office-related jobs. In St. Louis, all

(Continued on page 6)

Ms. Joshi is a research assistant at the Joint Center and Dr. Allen, an economist, is an associate professor at the University of Illinois.

(Continued from page 5)

students in the Ralston Purina On-Site Work-Study program are employed in positions such as clerk or lab assistant for four hours in the afternoon each school day, and they attend academic and vocational classes in the morning at the company. Since the program began in 1968, apart from providing part-time jobs Ralston Purina has donated instructional supplies and classroom space.

In the absence of such work programs, few black, economically disadvantaged inner-city students would have the opportunity to work at major corporations, law firms, and government agencies. Students in the study who found jobs on their own initiative tended to work as cashiers or cooks in fast food restaurants, jobs that offer little potential for career development. Typically, half or more of the New Horizons work experience students have kept their jobs after graduating from the program. From 1984 to 1989, approximately 40 to 60 percent of students who had completed Ralston Purina's On-Site Work-Study program were later hired by the company; in a survey conducted five years ago, the company found that at least 100 of its employees were former participants in the program.

Aside from offering students work experience, businesses contribute to these programs by offering financial support. The New Horizons program was created in 1980 with the help of Richmond's Private Industry Council, a consortium of local business leaders. The Council funded the salaries of the New Horizons staff until the consortium disbanded in 1990. Philip Morris USA has donated funds to subsidize the salaries of New Horizons students employed by smaller Richmond businesses.

Other involvement by the business sector includes the donation of equipment, adopt-a-school projects, and consultation on curriculum development to make courses career-relevant. Businesses also provide mentors, tutors, and speakers to discuss career options. In Atlanta, IBM has adopted the business education department at D.M. Therrell High School; the company has donated computers, trained teachers to use new software, and allowed its employees to take time off from work to tutor students. Joseph Boomer, an IBM manager, said that his office tries to "find pressure points and relieve them with minor financial aid and major personal time."

Choosing the College Option

While much of the emphasis in vocational education is on job training, many vocational teachers encourage students to enroll in courses required for college admission. New Horizons exposes students to college life by holding its summer program at a local community college. About 86 percent of the 214 students surveyed among all the programs planned to attend some type of college—four-year, community, or technical. Some planned to attend full-time and others to attend part-time while working part-time.

These findings refute the stereotype that vocational education is simply for students who have no plans to further their schooling. A majority of these 214 students were enrolled in or had completed algebra I and 46 percent were enrolled in algebra II. This is significant because many educators view algebra as a "gatekeeper course." That is, it teaches students the logical thinking and problem solving skills critical for entry into and success in college, as well as for success in jobs providing upward mobility.

New Horizons conducts a follow-up survey six months to one year after its students graduate. Over the last decade, the results have consistently shown that one-third to one-half of the graduates were already employed, and 50 to 60 percent were attending college.

Supporting Student Participation

Successful vocational education programs address the special needs of disadvantaged students through support services. Inner-city students today are more likely than in the past to be teen parents, to live in poverty, and to need remedial education. Among the programs studied, teachers and administrators often commented that too many students need help with basic academic skills. In the New Horizons program, students are pretested in mathematics, reading, and work maturity, and they receive instruction to help them improve in the areas in which they are deficient. The program's director, Jona McKee, notes, "We do a lot of remediation, more than I think that we ought to have to do, but it is necessary."

Other needed support services include counseling, transportation subsidies, child care facilities, and cultural activities. New Horizons uses funds provided by the Job Training Partnership Act to pay for uniforms students need at their jobs, to buy bus tickets for the work commute, and to pay for child care and medical services.

At the Harbor City Learning Center in Baltimore, a child care center has been established to make attendance easier for teen parents. Students pay only for the cost of a child's meals ($15 a week), which makes the center affordable.

At D.M. Therrell High School in Atlanta, the Coordinated Vocational and Academic Education (CVAE) program serves students who are academically or economically disadvantaged. In addition to work experience, these students receive personal attention through counseling and tutoring. To encourage attendance, CVAE teacher Frances Pope visits students' homes if they are frequently absent.

Many students who attend inner-city schools have little access to cultural or enrichment activities. Some of the vocational programs expose students to such experiences through field trips to ballets, plays, concerts, and local colleges. In St. Louis, Gerald Goclan, a data processing teacher at the O'Fallon Technical Center, cosponsors the "Image Club" to encourage students to get involved in their community. The club sponsors fundraisers and donates some of the money to charity. These activities help give students self-esteem and pride in their school.

(Continued on back page)

Crime, Crack and Black Youths

The Bush Administration's Proposed Crime Control Legislation Could Send More Minority Youths to Prison

by Katherine McFate and Cheryl Reed

Republican and Democratic members of Congress are battling this session to see who can be "toughest" on crime. Both parties' legislative proposals for a new Violent Crime Control Act expand the list of charges to which the death penalty can be applied and both target those involved in the drug trade for severe penalties. But a small clause in the Bush administration's bill is likely to have an immediate and devastating impact on young drug users in the inner city.

The administration's bill would allow a teenager charged with possession of crack to be tried as an adult. If it passes, a 16-year-old caught with five grams of crack cocaine (the weight of two pennies) could face a five year mandatory prison sentence in an adult penitentiary. (The penalty allowed for juveniles convicted of possession of powdered cocaine would not change.) With the inclusion of this clause, the administration's policy would isolate crack cocaine users for especially harsh penalties. This could have a racially discriminatory effect. Recent statistics from Minnesota show that over 92 percent of those convicted of possessing crack cocaine are black; over 85 percent of those convicted for possession of powdered cocaine are white.

As crack became the major focus of antidrug efforts in the 1980s, the percentage of black juveniles arrested on drug charges rose significantly. In 1985, one in every five juveniles arrested on drug charges was black. Today, one in two is black. Over 60 percent of all juveniles in custody today for all crimes are nonwhite. If the administration's crime bill passes, many more black juveniles will end up doing "hard time."

Unfortunately, the incarceration of ever larger numbers of minority teenagers is likely to do more harm than good. According to recent research by Harvard University Professor Richard Freeman, incarceration has a "major adverse effect on the long-term employment and earnings of young men." Freeman's analysis (of a representative sample of 12,700 youths between the ages of 14 and 21) shows that young men who served time in prison before 1980 had lower hourly earnings and worked 25 percent less during the 1980s than young men with similar characteristics but without prison records. The young ex-prisoners had average annual incomes 45 percent lower than their never-incarcerated peers. Most disturbing, these differences did not diminish over time. Sentencing low-skilled minority youths to prison means sentencing them to long-term—perhaps permanent—economic marginality. This in turn will reduce the number of adult black males available to form stable families, provide financial support for their children, and act as role models in urban neighborhoods.

The "lock 'em up" strategy has not been effective in reducing drug-related violence. Over 320,000 more drug arrests were made in 1989 than 1985. Over twice as many drug offenders were sent to prison in 1991 as in 1986. Today, one of every two federal prisoners is a drug offender. But despite these efforts, narcotics-related murders tripled during this same five-year period.

Nor have higher incarceration rates among drug dealers and users reduced cocaine's availability. The percentage of high school seniors who say cocaine is "easy" or "fairly easy" to obtain rose continuously through the 1980s. Today, about two-thirds of all American high school seniors say it would be easy for them to buy cocaine.

Imprisoning young drug users is not a cost-effective policy response to the drug problem. It can cost more than $11,000 to arrest, book, and try a drug offender; the average cost of incarcerating a juvenile for one year is now $29,000. By comparison, top-of-the line drug treatment in a public facility—four weeks of residential treatment with outpatient counseling—costs about $4,500. Even if a drug abuser must repeat the sequence two or three times to "get straight" (the typical pattern among alcoholics), treatment is a much cheaper way of dealing with drug abusers than prison. Yet the administration's crime bill proposes only a 10 percent increase in treatment funds for 1992.

To combat the cocaine epidemic a comprehensive, long-term antidrug campaign is needed. Senator Joseph Biden's (D-Del.) crime control legislation provides for a more comprehensive antidrug strategy than the White House's proposal. The Biden bill would expand "boot camp" programs as alternatives to prison for young offenders, establish regional facilities for drug-addicted prisoners, and provide funds to combat juvenile gangs and drug abuse by youths. It would also target special assistance to the cities hit hardest by the drug crisis.

Senior urban law enforcement officials and health providers agree that an antidrug strategy that focuses exclusively on enforcement and punishment is ineffective and an inefficient use of limited public resources. Only by investing in drug treatment, new efforts at post-prison rehabilitation, and the expansion of economic opportunities for minority youth will we be able to win the war on illegal drugs in our central cities. ■

Ms. McFate is a senior research associate and Ms. Reed is a research assistant at the Joint Center.

Vocational

(Continued from page 6)

Barriers to Black Male Participation

Among the programs visited, there are also some impediments to student participation, especially for black males. The New Horizons program stresses dressing for success and students are prohibited from wearing jeans or athletic shoes. Students are not allowed to wear their hair in braids, and male students are banned from wearing earrings. Athletes find it difficult to participate in New Horizons and other work experience programs because team practices and games often conflict with working hours.

Marshall Marks, head of the vocational education department at John Marshall High School, observes that there are few black male business teachers in Richmond. He would like to see more of them participate so they could serve as role models for black male students. The New Horizons program provides evidence that male teachers can make a difference in attracting male students. In the six New Horizons classes taught by women the majority of students were female, but in the class taught by Raymond Johnson (the only male teacher in the program) over half of the students were young men.

Key Ingredients for Success

The study shows that the following factors contribute to an effective vocational education program: strong leadership by principals and other administrators; teachers who take a personal interest in their students, stress academics, and believe that all students are capable of learning; career planning programs; support services; work experience programs; and follow-up documentation of student outcomes. Although all the schools included in the study had elements that make a program exemplary, other elements were sometimes missing. Deficiencies tended to be in career planning and the provision of support services such as child care facilities accessible to all teen parents.

The business sector can play a critical role in program success by providing jobs for students. However, the study found wide fluctuations in the availability of jobs. In one program, only a few jobs were available, while at another the vocational instruction was entirely based at a major corporation that provided jobs for all the students. Further to ensure full student participation, both private companies and government agencies need to be more consistent in providing jobs. Even award-winning programs such as New Horizons are now having problems placing all students in entry-level jobs, in part because of the recession and in part because of the dissolution of the Private Industry Council, which had served as a liaison between the school system and the business sector.

The low number of black male students enrolled in business education suggests they should be targeted for special recruitment and that barriers to their participation should be addressed. Greater recruitment of black male teachers could help to increase black male enrollment.

Many of the vocational education programs analyzed in the study lacked historical data on students' endeavors after graduation. To improve accountability, it is important that the programs establish longitudinal data bases to track graduates' progress. In a time of tight budgets, documenting the achievement of former students is often key to increasing or maintaining funding.

Given that minorities will comprise a larger proportion of the work force in the future, vocational education programs that successfully address the needs of black students should be identified and replicated. When the elements of successful vocational education programs are implemented they can provide black, economically disadvantaged students with the academic and job related skills they need to succeed in the workplace of the future. ■

Editor's Note: This article is based on a forthcoming report from the Joint Center Project on Skills Acquisition by Disadvantaged Youth, which was funded by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education.

FOCUS
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®
1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 6958
Washington, D.C.

ADDRESS
CORRECTION
REQUESTED

Postmaster: Form 3547 requested

26062
SRI
Acquisitions Editor
Congressional Info Svc Inc
7520 East-West Hwy
Bethesda, MD 20814